127 /248 cont./ At this point we shall examine a number of registers to see for what purposes it is possible to use figures taken from them and for what purposes they cannot be used; if possible we shall at the same time give the reasons for our opinion.

The following registers were found in the adat community:

1. birth registers
2. death registers
3. marriage registers
4. divorce registers
5. land-tax registers
6. Indonesian notary registers
7. registers of reported misdemeanors
8. sentences handed down by courts of law
9. community labor registers
10. overnight registers
11. registration registers
12. school registers

Birth Registers

[193] The imam of the adat community maintains the birth registers according to instructions passed on to him by the Kali of Goa. In the columns appear next to each other the names of the father, the mother, and the child; the kampong where the birth took place; a record of the fact whether the birth took place at night or during the day, the date of birth, and the sex of the child.

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/249/ Notification is made when the child is a few weeks old. If the child dies before registration, the latter ordinarily does not take place, therefore. During a stay of six weeks I observed two such cases. These registers therefore cannot supply any reliable figures concerning infant mortality.

114 /249 cont./ There is no punishment for failure to register.
163 The reason that people do not like to register a child that has
217 just been born is the belief that this would bring about misfortune
[777] because it is conceived as an expression of arrogance or pride.
751] For the same reason a newborn child is wrapped in old rags.
There is no certainty that the births recorded in a year represent the correct number.

[844] A woman by preference has her first child in the house of her parents, especially if she herself was also born there. Many children are therefore registered in a kampong where their parents no longer live and from which it again "moves" a few months after birth.

[553] A child does not receive a name directly at birth for the same reason that a child's birth is not directly reported. All boys are referred to as Baso or Batjo, all girls as Basse or Batje. In this semianonymity the child is considered safe. Only years later does it receive a name of its own, which, however, is not recorded in the register. A certificate of birth is not submitted.

Death Registers

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165 In the death registers that are likewise maintained by the
[793] imam for the entire adat community (around 14, 000 inhabitants), the following data are found reported in parallel columns: the name of the deceased, his sex, his age; the kampong in which he died, whether he died during the night or during the day, the date of his death, the final illness, and sometimes a few remarks concerning heirs and estate.

[961] The reasons indicated for the death are very much those of a layman; the imam bases them upon complaints uttered during the final illness: stomach-ache, coughing, sometimes old age, are found recorded in this category. /250/

Thus, these registers must also be handled with care. Neither age nor reason for death can be regarded as reliable.

/250 cont./
Marriage Registers

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In the columns of the marriage registers are found in order: the bridegroom's name, his estimated age, the kampong of his residence; his father's and mother's name, their place of residence, or else the fact that they are deceased. The same is entered for the bride. Then follows the name and place of residence of the wali and his kin relationship to the wife, or else the fact that the wali haking functioned; the date of the marriage ceremony, the formula of the talak al takli' (Makassarese: djandji tala'); the amount of the bride price (sunrang); the fact that the sunrang was paid or else borrowed, what part was paid in money and what part in exactly defined goods; a fingerprint of the bride's thumb or of her father's in case the latter is still alive; the name of the marriage official and of the witnesses, and finally a column of remarks.

In Borongloë, marriages by flight are registered along with the ordinary, or festive marriages. This is to say, therefore, that in general marriages of fleeing couples from elsewhere are registered in Borongloë, and that marriages of fleeing couples native to Borongloë are recorded elsewhere. The tendency to flee to Macassar seems to be greater than the other way around. In Macassar, some imams have special registers to record marriages by flight. Only after a certain length of time has elapsed does the couple return home. The total number of marriages registered in Borongloë is therefore not the same as the number of married couples.

In the case of marriage by flight, the sunrang always amounts to 20 reals. In view of the fact that otherwise the sunrang is an index, the number of marriages with 20 reals is in itself not indicative of status conditions.

The age of the marrying couples must be treated with caution, as was already remarked in the discussion of child marriage.

1:Chabot--334 E-5 (1940-1949) 1950 OG6 Makassar OG6

/250 cont./
Divorce Registers

114 217 586 The divorce registers are kept by the Kali of Goa for a part of the province of Goa that comprises several adat communities. /251/ This is an administrative problem which is regulated differently according to locality. During the Japanese occupation, when it was considered unsafe to travel, the Imam of Borongloë temporarily was also authorized to register divorces.

The maintenance of these four types of personal registers was poor. Registers of a few years back were in such a deplorable state that it was no longer fruitful to consult them. Before these registers can develop into a Registrar's Office, a good many improvements will first have to be made.

Land-tax Registers

114 217 651 423 In the land-tax registers each plot of land whose boundaries are very precisely indicated is to be found with the name of the person who pays the tax on it. This may be the Indonesian owner. A woman's plots are regularly recorded in the name of her husband or, if she is unmarried, in the name of her oldest brother. Younger brother's plots are frequently entered in the name of the oldest.

Registration of land is done by kampong territory. It is possible to calculate the average landownership per head and per house. It is impossible to say how many are "large landowners" -- assuming that one would want to consider someone who possesses more than five hectares as such, for instance, for by entering a part of his land in the name of his wife or children, the total ownership of one man can no longer be traced through these land registers.

The land-tax service places the taxpayer and the Indonesian owner practically on a par. Jurisprudence, however, does not simply connect with Indonesian property rights the fact that someone is entered in the land-tax registers.

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/251 cont./ The land-tax registers make a distinction between lands in Indonesian possession and lands that have been taken in pawn. In a calculation of the averages of the sawah areas, these two types of land must be added together. The land-tax registers are in excellent condition.

The Indonesian Notary

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The so-called Inland Notary, kept in the adat community office, which before the war began to assume an increasingly important task, was still not up to prewar /252/ standards in mid-1949. In 1940, 318 transactions were registered in Borongloë, in 1946 and 1947, 36 and 56 respectively.

The purpose of this institution is to further legal certainty. Parties which enter into a transaction, can report this to the head concerned, and the latter is then obligated to enter this transaction in the register, and at the same time to give to both parties a summary of what was recorded by him.

In the columns are recorded in order: name and place of residence of the purchaser; name and place of residence of the seller; a description of the article; then its boundaries are indicated if it is land, and its characteristics if it concerns a buffalo; the sum that is paid or -- in case of an exchange -- the article with a similar description; and finally, the further agreements that are made subsequent to this transfer.

The adat community head makes an entry of the transaction if the local well-informed head of the kampong where the land is situated or from which the buffalo comes tells him that he has heard no objections against the transaction. The institution was popular because the native courts of law especially attached much value to the summaries produced by purchasers or pawnees at their sessions.

The personal care and interest for this institution on the part of the local heads varies greatly, and it is upon this that the number of transactions recorded appears to be directly

114 /252 cont./ dependent. Comparison of the figures accordingly
217 indicates little concerning the actual number of transactions
675 carried out in the respective territorial sections. A general
425 impression can be derived from this register of what is transacted in a certain region. But no conclusions can be drawn with respect to the number of transactions.

Of the 31 transactions recorded in 1948, 6 concern the transfer of a sawah; 5 the transfer of a piece of dry land; 16 the sale of buffaloes, and 2 the transfer of a sewing machine.

The number of buffalo sales probably approaches the actual number most closely, since in the case of transportation -- which is necessary in the sale to one residing outside the seller's adat community -- a buffalo pass is necessary, and some heads exercise a certain pressure for registration in the registry /253/ of the Indonesian Notary when such a pass is issued. The land transactions do not approximate the actual number by an estimated tenth part.

Misdemeanor Registers

114 In the register of misdemeanors (Rappor Kedjahatan),
217 which is also kept in the adat community office, the violations
674 and misdemeanors that are reported there are entered, and at the same time those against whom the evidence is reported. In the first six months of 1948, 15 were reported there, that is: 9 buffalo thefts, 2 maltreatments, 1 threat with the badik, 2 minor thefts, and 1 assault on a woman. Eight of the 9 buffalo thefts remained unsolved. This register was not introduced until 1948; little can as yet be said about its effect.

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Registers of Legal Matters

114 The registers of legal matters which are divided into civil
217 and criminal, are kept in the adat community office of Borongloë
671 when they concern "minor" matters that come up before the

114 /253 cont./ Minor Native Law Court (Hadat Ketjil) of
217 Borongloë. The registers of "major" matters handled by the
671 Native Law Court (Hadat Besar) of Goa are to be found in the provincial office in Sungguminasa. In the civil registers are listed name and place of residence of the parties; the demand and the answer; the statements by the witnesses, the decision of the judge, and a single consideration in which is stated how the judge arrived at his decision. Relatively the same applies to criminal matters. These considerations are not directly comparable to those found in the registers of government judges.

Community-Labor Register

114 The kampong head has a register with the names of the
217 men in his kampong who are subject to government corvée,
651 nowadays community labor. This, however, does not list the total number of men able to work because a few kinsmen of the head and a few kampong functionaries are exempted from such labor, and because many heads are inclined to extend the number of exemptions according to their own judgment in order to strengthen their position in the kampong. This register is poorly kept. Old registers are not preserved.

/254/ Overnight Register

114 The kampong head keeps an overnight register (buku
217 bermalan) in which the person who spends the night in a kampong
486 is recorded by his name, his place of residence, the duration of his stay, and name of his host. Its purpose during the turbulent years of 1946 and 1947 was to exercise a certain control over strangers who came into the kampong. Now that this control is no longer so important, a name is entered only now and then so that the book will not be completely blank when a checkup is made. More than 90 per cent of overnight stays were not noted, so far as I was able to observe. The register therefore is of no use in measuring a certain horizontal mobility.

/254 cont./ Registration Register

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The Registration Register is, in view of its makeup, probably designed to give a picture of the number of able-bodied men and the tax to be rendered by them in each kampong territory.

Next to the column in which the name of the man is recorded, there is one showing the number of his wives, his children, buffaloes, and horses; his profession, his age, the amount he must pay in income tax, and so forth. Unmarried and able-bodied young men have their own place in the register. The youngest of these was nineteen years old.

This register cannot serve to indicate the total number of residents because houses in which a widow lives with children are not recorded. If a young man is around nineteen years of age, he receives a place in the register, but not his mother and younger brothers and sisters. Houses without a male head of the family are therefore not included in it.

The register apparently was not kept up regularly. Some newborn children were not entered, and some deceased were not written off. I was told by the administration that the total number of those entered increased by 10 per cent after the distribution of kain was done on the basis of this register. This 10 per cent appeared to consist mainly of unmarried women and girls.

Compared to my own card system of the residents of /255/ Bontoramba, 17 men (or boys) and 104 women (or girls) were not registered, altogether 121, or around 15 per cent, for a total of 803 residents. The increase of 10 per cent just mentioned had already taken place then.

The estimated age is recorded only for the men entered in the register. The observation made in the 1930 Census Report, that age estimates are unreliable was here confirmed. A man of 47 years appeared to have a son of 38. Several men would have been fathers in their twelfth year. The oldest man of the kampong was estimated at 66 years of age. In these

114 /255 cont./ estimates there appeared to be a clear preference
• 217 for certain numbers which, in my opinion, make it risky to
161 draw further conclusions from this. Eleven men were estimated as 40 years of age, 10 as 50, and 9 as 52; but according to this estimate, only 2 men were 39 years old, only one 41 or 42 years old, while there were supposedly no men of 51, 53, 54, 55, 56, 57, and 59 years of age residing in the kampong.

School Registers

114 The school registers, which are kept very accurately by the
217 head of the school and checked by inspectors of the Department,
871 are in very good condition.

Each child is entered in the register according to name, sex, name of the father, and name of the person paying the tuition; date of entrance, grade promotions, date of leaving school, and reason for leaving school. The children's place of residence is not entered in the register.

Up to 1945 the public school in Bontomanai was the only school in the adat community of Borongloë with its more than 14, 000 inhabitants. This school was established in 1923 but led a rather precarious existence until 1936. The number of pupils was small. In the second half of 1935 a new director of the school was appointed, and the number of pupils immediately soared steeply. The number of newly enrolled pupils numbered:

1935	1936	1937	1938	1939	1940
12	70	37	78	64	17

Altogether, therefore, 278 children were enrolled, of whom 197 (72 per cent) were boys, and 81 (28 per cent) girls. The decrease in 1940 is due to the circumstance that the Inspector believed /256/ that there were too many pupils at the school and that the instruction was suffering from this.

For the instruction at this three-year public school there was, in addition to the school director mentioned, a single assistant instructor. The two men divided up the three classes in such a way that one class in turn was free or else worked by itself.

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/256 cont./ Of these 278 children, 60 received a graduating diploma. The rest left school for various reasons which are recorded in the school's register. For 95 the reason given was laziness; for 49, their own request; for 28 illness; for 23, transfer to another school, for instance in connection with the parents moving; for 14, lack of money; and for 8, the fact that they were too small.

Laziness has reference not only to the achievements at school, but also to attendance at school, and children who live as far as two kilometers or more are with greater difficulty induced to cover this great distance every day, than those who live near by in the vicinity.

Under "own request" many girls are included who are regarded by their parents or other kinsmen as too big to walk on the street. Girls above twelve years of age, but frequently even those over ten, are preferably kept at home.

The poor payment of tuition was a reason for removing a child from school, particularly during the last two years. At that time the school had sufficient pupils. One does not need to jump to the conclusion that poor people's children were here especially prejudiced in the opportunities for development. Frequently, these parents are no poorer or richer than others, they just won't spare the tuition money.

The fact that pupils were too small was only given as a reason for leaving school in 1939. This must be regarded as due to the fact that the number of pupils was considered to be too large and because the Inspector believed that instruction was suffering from this.

125 In 1949 an attempt was made to discover the residence of the 278 pupils enrolled from 1935 through 1940. This attempt must be regarded as a failure. In 1949, 104 children were still living in the same kampong; 12 had moved to a kampong outside Borongloë, 1 to a kampong outside Goa, and 7 were dead. Of the great majority (154) the place of residence was /257/ unknown. I assume that by far the greatest part of these no longer

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871 /257 cont./ The children who come from there must walk over muddy footpaths. Parang Banua and Bontoa are cut off from the other kampongs by a large river, the Djeneberang. The large number of children from Parang Banua is therefore striking. Here live many kinsmen of the adat community head who, as he said, always urged his kin group to send their children to school.

The total number of residents of a kampong, the communication routes, /258/ and the example set by a head thus constitute the less important factors influencing school attendance, aside from the distance that has to be covered. A new school provides direct proof of this.

In 1945 a new school was opened in Bontoramba. In July, 1949 it had an enrollment of 226 pupils, of whom a small number at that time already had left school again. Of these 226, there came:

from Bontoramba	60 (26 boys and 34 girls)
from Pagentungang	61 (40 boys and 21 girls)
from Buttadidi	53 (36 boys and 17 girls)
from Songkolo	35 (20 boys and 15 girls)

All three of the last-named kampongs border directly on Bontoramba. The new school director did not know the place of residence for 17 pupils. It is not recorded in the registers.

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217 Herewith, the most important registers have been discussed. The most reliable and at the same time the ones that were best kept appear to be those registers for which a special service is responsible (school and land-tax registers). The least reliable and the ones that were most poorly maintained were those that had been put in the hands of the kampong head (overnight and community-labor registers). The condition of those in the hands of the religious officials (imams) or of the adat community heads is dependent upon the sense of neatness and order of the keeper concerned, upon the standing

1:Chabot--343 E-5 (1940-1949) 1950 OG6 Makassar OG6

114 /258 cont./ that he enjoys and which places him in a position
217 to realize certain aspirations with respect to these registers, and finally upon the orders and the control of their execution that proceeds centrally from the Kali to the imams, and from the administrative officials, now the Self-government members, to the adat community head.

/259/ Bibliography

113 As a starting point for this bibliography, I used the
114 Bibliography of Indonesian Peoples and Cultures by Raymond Kennedy (1). A number of gaps were filled, and the list was

1. Yale University Press,
New Haven, 1945.

brought up to date to January, 1950.

For practical reasons, Kennedy's division into "Celebes General" and "Makassarese-Buginese" was not followed, nor was the distinction between publications in Dutch and other languages used.

Not all the works cited by Kennedy could be consulted. It is possible, therefore, that a number of works were included which relate to North or Central, and not to South Celebes.

With a few exceptions, the publications that have appeared in the Adatrechtbundels have not been cited again separately under the name of the author.

123 I gave a speech on how Bone was to fall behind, and Java
544 and other places advance unless the people had better local
181 schools. I said something about the Toradja becoming masters and the Buginese slaves. They were grim at this point. I said that they needed business education, and they saw the point; but they really did not respond to any great extent. And Andi reiterated that the Bone folk know only hormat and adat. To illustrate he crossed his arms and bent over saying that that was all they know.

212 As for the non-official education, Buginese writing is said
871 to be taught in the homes by elders. Also the children often
797 teach illiterate elders to read and write. The Kepala kampong seemed to be much amused at this as he described it. In addition there are evening school sessions with teachers and school students instructing illiterates, in the desa.

There are no missionaries or mission schools here. I told them about the Javanese using these without giving up Mohammedanism, and although they could see the point they responded in their usual dead-pan fashion.

874 There is the usual apprentice training for artisans and a
463 tendency for sons to follow their fathers' occupation. This also applies to religious officers. And there is the padjoge training, although there are no such persons in this kampong.

212 As for literacy and knowledge of languages we can say that
191 everyone in the kampong speaks Buginese. This includes aliens.
562 Many speak Indonesian. Few if any speak Dutch well. None speak English. However, the schools are trying to teach classes in English. (Who in the world can do it here?) They saw the point when I said that English is favored in Java over Dutch because it is an international language. They said that all adults, and they repeated all (including women?) can read the Koran in Arabic, but few know the meaning of what they read. Many can speak Arabic too, and thus it is easy for them when they go to Arabia on the hadj. Few if any really speak Makassarese but they say it is not necessary as they can understand the Makassarese and the Makassarese can understand them. Relatively few can read and write in Roman characters or Arabic, but very many, and they tried to say all, and meant it, can read and write Buginese. Here again I wonder if the women are included. I asked repeatedly about this matter of literacy in Buginese and asked if even the farmers could read in the local script. They said yes, but

368 the people read very little. There is a bookstore in Watum-
212 pone, but there are not many people who buy books. However,
217 as there is no library, they must buy books if they want them
549 at all. They mentioned that Balai Pustaka had a traveling library here before the war, and also a library in Bone, but this was no longer the case.